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I. Magic, Burial Customs, Festivals, and Womenfolk.

1. *Magic.*

777 787 484 825 The Dyaks are troubled with many superstitions. Days are lucky or unlucky; places are fortunate or the contrary; many birds are *antu*, and their presence foretells all kinds of mischief to traveller or to farmer who pays no attention to the warning. During a trip up the *Rejang* river a *pangkas* (omen bird) was heard on the right and the people assured me I should succeed in everything I undertook on this trip; further on we heard a *katupong* (omen bird) also on our right, and we stopped a few moments to show our respect by casting it an offering of betel-nut, and then went on; finally we heard a *muntjak* as we pulled away from the landing place. Dian says, if he were not with me he would go back, as no *Kyan* would dare to go on in face of such a warning as the last. The omen, he declared, could not be worse, and no native would be mad enough to disregard it; he would go home and stay there. He would do the same if he were to hear a *musang* on the eve of departure or to see a *pelahabong* (snake with red head and tail). The birds they believe in are six in number, and are called *pisit, bukang, tetajan, asi, mangilieng, kihieng.*

If they hear a *pisit* or *bukang* on their left, they stop, wherever they may be, for the rest of the day; and if a *kihieng*, a *tetajan*, an *asi*, or a *mangilieng*, they are bound to remain where they are for two days. If on starting, however, they are fortunate enough to hear three or four of these birds, one after another, on their right, then they continue to the end of the journey and pay no attention to whatever they may hear on their left.

The *mangilieng* is a kite, and they also draw omens from its flight.

726 787 [825] An up-country Dyak, head of his tribe, went once with all his young ones, to raise their boat out of the sand in order to prepare it for a war expedition. During the operation they heard the bird *kiki* to the left hand; this was a "bad" bird. Again they tried to work; again they heard the bird. When the boat was ready to be launched, the bird was there again. The young men then all ran away, and declined to follow their chief. Nothing daunted, the chief took his three sons and filled his boat with men of other tribes. When he arrived at

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Katibas, he would not listen to the advice of the Rajah, but at night, with about five other boats, he stole away and got in advance, and went up a small river where his party were followed by two large boats of the enemy, who closed in for a hand-to-hand fight, and who were aided by a large force on the banks. The slaughter (for Dyak warfare) was frightful. The chief was wounded and his eldest son killed, as also was the greater part of the crew. So with a very few followers he had to return home in a boat of the enemy which he had captured. This disastrous result was ascribed to the neglected warning of the *kiki*.

The Dyaks look upon particular birds as ministering spirits who have the power of giving notice of good or bad fortune to come, and so warn them of danger or cheer them by prospect of success. They suppose that these birds are their ancestors who have been transmigrated in order to watch over the welfare of their tribe, and who are still interested in everything connected with it. None but the brave are thus distinguished. Every household has certain birds which it follows and other birds which are of ill omen, that is, which warn of approaching danger. Once, it is said, when an unusually brave man was fighting, the enemy cut off his *chawat* (loin-cloth) behind; he died and became a bird without a tail.

The *burong-beragai* is esteemed sacred by the Dyaks, and may not be killed. Its plumage is rich and beautiful.

There are other creatures besides birds whose notes of warning they observe.

To hear the cry of a deer is at all times unlucky, and to prevent the sound reaching their ears during a marriage procession, gongs and drums are loudly beaten. On the way to their farms, should the unlucky omen be heard, they will return home and do no more work for a day.

A *kijang* or wild goat when heard on the hill near the farms sends all the people home. A deer crying at night keeps all at home the next day. A *bujang* (a kind of grasshopper) sounding at night is a sign of a healthy house, but should he go on till dawn no one goes out. A cobra crossing the path compels the return of the advancing party. A rat on the farm has the same effect. If a dead cobra is found on a farm after it has been burnt, it makes the farm *mali*, *i.e.*, the crops cannot be consumed by the owner's family without a death occurring within a year. They will not intentionally kill a cobra, nor one particular species of the lizard, nor owls, nor any of their birds of omen. There are also certain animals and birds which many families abstain from injuring, in some cases owing to a dream, in others to keep up a tradition received by them from an ancestor. In some tribes it is forbidden to kill a civet, an orang

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825 or a crocodile. The orang once helped the Balaus (tribe) on a critical occasion.

[777 787] Those who dream of the cobra are lucky. The spirits, too, often adopt the form of snakes.

776 The *tuah* is some fish, bird, or beast which makes the totem of some family or tribe, and which they may not kill or eat.

262 Several Dyak tribes object to eating pork or venison or other animals; but it is because they are afraid of getting certain complaints or skin diseases, and the custom becomes hereditary, as many families are subject to these complaints, or it arises from the fear of going mad. Some married women tremble at touching deer's flesh previous to the birth of the first born, [787] or because they have been warned in dreams to abstain from particular kinds of food. Their religion does not forbid them to eat any particular kind of animals.

778 There is a pond at Aäp on the Rejang river which the natives do not care to approach, there being something uncanny about it. The Kinahs (tribe) have a great reverence for the rocks of the river on which they live, and if they affirm with a *Bato* (River) *Baloi* or *Bato Bulan*, or *Bato* whatever it may be, you may be sure they are stating the truth. Dian says the gift of [437 572] a tiger's tooth to a Kinah chief will make him your friend for life, and he will never fail you or turn false to you for fear of being devoured by the beast.

774 If a Dyak dreams of falling into the water he supposes that this accident has really befallen his spirit, and he sends for a 787 *manang*, who fishes for it and recovers it. The *manangs* 155 profess that in addition to the true spirit given by God to man, there are other spirits, *i.e.*, the shadows which ordinarily attend every man wherever he goes.[1] These are the spirits that fall into the water. The *manang* gets a platter before him and fills it with water. After incantations, he fishes in this platter with hand nets. He pulls these out a few times with no result. At length the spirit comes up, is captured, and restored. No doubt Dyaks often concoct dreams out of their waking thoughts to suit their interest, yet they are implicit believers in the reality of dreams, and will not spare expense to atone by ceremony or sacrifice for a bad one.

586 Dyak women when they want to separate from their husbands 787 and have taken a liking for another man, allege that they have dreamt that if they do not separate they will die in pregnancy. This is generally accepted, as it is customary to put faith in dreams, and there seems to be no test whether the alleged dream be true or not.

787 Dyaks, before they dare occupy a new house, kill a pig and

[1] *See* p. 117.

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examine the entrails; if the reading is unfavourable, they abandon the house. If the post of a house gives way, it is looked upon as an unlucky omen. If a dog climb up into a house that is being built when the gongs are beating, it must be killed. If anything uncanny happens in a house, for which they cannot account (such as the finding of blood on a mat during absence of the inmates), it is supposed to be caused by a spirit, and they resort to the usual rites to avert the omen, by killing a pig. If the reading of the entrails prove unsatisfactory the house is abandoned, be it ever so good. If the *katupong* enters a house at one end and flies out by the other it is an omen. The *katupong*, according to Dyak belief, is not really a bird, but a supernatural being married to *Dara Ensing Tamaga*, the eldest daughter of *Sin Yalang Durong*, the god of war, and takes the form of this bird to warn Dyaks of approaching danger. When this occurs, flight is instant, men and women snatch up a few necessaries (mats and rice) and stampede, leaving everything unsecured and doors unfastened. If any one approaches the house at night, he will see large and shadowy demons chasing each other through it, and hear their unintelligible talk. After a while the people return and erect the ladder they have overthrown, and the women sprinkle the house with water "to cool it."

The Sedumat and Kalakan Dyaks of Lundu believe that when an eclipse occurs some large animal in the shape of a dog is worrying the moon (or sun) and they bring out their brass-ware and portions of food to present them as offerings to appease this powerful beast. They then fire guns, beat gongs, scream out, and make all the noise they can to drive him away.

The chief of the Uma Lesong tribe gave me a *tukar do*, a kind of sun dial with which is measured the shadow of the meridian sun in a certain month of the year, and by its length is determined the season to plant with advantage. If the shadow be such and such a length the yield will be plenteous, if such and such another length it will be meagre, and if it be a certain other length there will be plenty, but there will be weeping as well.

After three the Dyak's favourite number is seven.

Dyaks are so unreasonable that they expect to get everything their own way, and feel aggrieved if they do not. If they do not get dry weather when they want it, they pray for it, and try to propitiate the deity with offerings. If this fail they fancy someone must have committed an unnatural crime (incest, to wit), and they strive to find out such an offender, and lay upon him the blame for all the trouble they are experiencing.

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782 Not very long ago they would have punished such an offence
821 with death or at mildest with slavery. If they are deluged with rain when the crops should ripen instead of sunshine and dry weather, or should a landslip occur, &c., &c., they fancy the same (unnatural lust), and visit the offender with condign punishment and purify the earth with blood of pigs and fowls.

588 On one occasion an Undup Dyak married his first cousin, and
783 the people refused to visit him unless he asked *ampun, i.e.*, forgiveness. To obtain this he killed a pig and threw the whole of it into the river with one plate and a *duku* (chopper). I tried once to make out of whom they asked pardon, and I was told, as I always am, "*sighi adat kami*—only our custom." They said it was to no evil spirit, but to the whole country, in order that their paddy might not be blasted (see p. 133).

824 A man from Banting once came to me to ask for medicine
137 for his brother, who, he said, was unable to move his lower
753 limbs, and that part of his thighs were falling off in pieces. Afterwards I found out that the man had been trimming or topping a tree on his farm called *rara*. This tree is an *antu* tree, and, generally speaking, nothing will grow under it or near it. It is forbidden amongst the Dyaks to cut it unless they first take a hatchet which they carefully wrap round with cotton; they then strike as hard as they can, leave the axe in and call upon the *antu*, either to leave the tree or to give them the sign that he does not wish it cut down; then they go home. Next day they visit the tree, and if they find the axe lying on the ground they know it is inhabited and do not attempt to cut it down; if the axe still remain in, they can, without danger, cut the tree down. I consider it is no *antu*, but strychnine which exists in the sap to a large percentage. Now, so long as the sap is running, no axe would long remain in, but must necessarily be cast out by the action of heat and the expansion of the gutta exuding. If the axe remain in, it proves only that the tree is not lively but ready to die. The gutta falling on the skin is taken up and absorbed and so impregnates and poisons the whole body.

756 The *manangs* or medicine-men of the Sea Dyaks rank next
554 in importance to the *Tuah Rumah* or village chiefs, and it is by no means an unusual thing for the medicine-man himself to be the chief of the village in which he resides. There is nothing whatever to prevent him becoming so, provided he be popular; but to be popular he must be a faithful interpreter of dreams and a powerful exorciser of evil spirits. The entire system of the *manang* is based upon superstition and imposture supplemented with a smattering of herbalism. His reputation depends upon the number of cures he is able to effect; or, in

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other words, upon the trickeries his superior cunning enables him to practise upon the credulity of the people. The *manang* is an hereditary institution; it does not necessarily descend from father to son, but it is usually confined to the family.

To ensure success in his profession his cunning must be of a high order, otherwise his rogueries would be detected and his services discontinued. The more effectually to shield him from the possible revelations of a too prying curiosity he envelops himself and his belongings in a cloud of mystery. As it would be ruinous to him were his box of charms and devilries exposed to public view, he announces the punishment of blindness to any human being venturesome enough to peep into it.

There are two descriptions of *manangs*, the regular and the irregular. The regular (*manang ngaga antiu*) are those who have been called to that vocation by dreams, and to whom the spirits have revealed themselves. The irregular (*manang ngaga diri*) are self-created and without a familiar spirit.

The regular are male and female *manang laki* and *manang indu*, and also *manang bali*, or unsexed males, of whom more anon. When a person conceives a call from the spirits he bids adieu for awhile to his relatives, abandons his former occupation, and attaches himself to some thorough-paced *manang*, who, for a consideration, will take him in hand and instruct him until he is fully qualified to practice on his own account. It is not enough, however, for him to simply say that he feels himself called; he must prove to his friends that he is able to commune with the spirits, and in proof of this he will occasionally abstain from food and indulge in trances from which he will awake with all the tokens of one possessed by a devil, foaming at the mouth and talking incoherently. At the ceremony of initiation, when he is admitted into the order, his body is supposed to undergo a complete change; he assumes a new name, and among other things his fingers are furnished with fish-hooks to enable him to clutch the human soul about to fly away, and reintroduce it into the body, thereby prolonging life. Gold is put into his eyes to clarify his vision and so to enable him to see the spirits and the things invisible to others, and in various ways he is miraculously gifted; his skull is said to be cleft open, &c.

The *manang* looks upon a sick person as being possessed with an evil spirit, and as long as this evil spirit remains in possession the patient cannot regain his health, he conjures it to depart; if it be obstinate and will not go he summons his own familiar spirit, and requests it to show him in what way the tormentor may be prevailed upon to take its departure.

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753 He acts upon its suggestions and propitiates it with sacri-
755 fices; but if it still prove obstinate and refuse to budge, the *manang* admits his inability to deal with it, and some other wizard is called in who is believed to have at his command a more powerful familiar. Whether the patient live or die the *manang* is rewarded for his pains; he makes sure of that before he undertakes the case, for he is put to considerable inconvenience, being fetched away from his own home and obliged to take up his abode with his patient; he can therefore undertake only one case at a time, but to it he devotes his whole attention. He takes his meals with the family, and in other ways makes himself quite at home. If a cure be effected he receives a valuable present in addition to his ordinary
[757] expenses. Herbal remedies are frequently administered by him, and a diet enjoined. Such treatment works wonders in all simple disorders, and not unnaturally, but to enhance the value of the cure, spells are muttered and cabalistic verses recited exorcising the foul fiend that is tormenting the body. I have
[177] known *manangs* to have administered in this way European medicines procured from the Government dispensary, for they are wide awake and ready at all times to avail themselves of remedies of known efficacy. Every regular *manang* is supposed to be attended by a familiar spirit who is good and powerful; but it often happens that the evil spirit is the more powerful of the two, and when this is the case the sick man
[761] cannot recover, and death ensues. By death they understand the flight of the soul out of the body. When a person complains of pain in the body the familiar will often suggest that some mischievous devil has put something into him to cause the pain. The *manang* will thereupon manipulate the part and pretend by some sleight of hand to draw something out of it, a stick, or a stone, or whatever it may chance to be, which, no doubt, he has previously concealed about his person, and he will hand it about and exhibit it as the cause of the pain in the body, which he has thus been able to remove without so much as leaving a mark on the skin.

755 On other occasions if the disease be internal, the *manang* calls together all the friends of the sick person, making, with the assistance of others playing on gongs and tomtoms, a deafening noise sufficient to kill a person in ordinary health. He pretends to converse with the spirit which troubles the afflicted person, or he pretends to fall into a trance, during which his spirit is supposed to wander about in the spirit world to find out what is the matter with the patient.

His method of treating diseases is not very conducive to the restoration of health, but if the strength of the person is suffi-

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cient to bear him through, it is well; but should the patient die no blame is attached to the *manang*, but it all devolves on the malignant spirit, who is certainly not so black as, on these occasions, he is painted. 755

Once during a journey up the Rejang river a wizard was called in to visit the sick wife of one of my companions. He was dressed in war costume and wore his side-arms. The sick person was a female and was seated close to where he was standing. The room was crowded with people and but partially lit with a single torch. The gifts were hung up in a row under a *cajang* canopy and Bua Dieng, the conjurer, was to cast out the devil who was tormenting the woman by the help of his familiar Avun Lalang. The first thing for the wizard to do was to discover through the instrumentality of his familiar whether the woman was destined to die. Being satisfied she might yet live he conjured his familiar to discover to him the evil thing that was vexing her body, and after a great deal of mystery and exorcism he gingerly exhibited between his finger and thumb a ball of moss which he claimed to have found in her head. His face was now a picture of horror as he offered to introduce this noxious thing into someone else's head, driving this other person nearly wild with terror until the latter was reassured by seeing it flung out of the window.

Another form of cure is similar to that well-known one of sorcery found in Europe, and was witnessed as follows:—A son of Uñaté, Laghieng by name, a boy of tender age, was suffering from some disorder of the stomach, whereupon his mother quickly procured the services of a *manang bali* (hereafter described), who made effigies of mother and child by means of bundles of clothes. The effigy of the mother wore a mask, earrings, jacket, and turban; that of the child, with beads for eyes, a turban, and a scarlet *chawat* (loin-cloth) was placed between its legs. The gifts to the "devil" were hanging in a row under a *cajang*, and consisted of Uñaté's shield decorated with human hair at the one end, and his war jacket of panther-skin adorned with horn-bill plumes at the other end, while in between were the wife's waist-beads and showy clothing. The object of the witch was to persuade the devil to accept these bribes and leave the boy to recover.

The Dyaks believe that every individual has seven souls (*samangat*), and that when a person is sick, one or more of these are in captivity, and must be reclaimed to effect a cure. Dyaks when visited by any severe sickness (as cholera) ask forgiveness of the *antu*. They build a small hut like one of their own houses, put a piece of matting on the floor, and then place rice, cakes, fruit, and eggs on plates as an offering; these 774 753 782

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they place in the hut, and round about they hang their gongs and place their jars on the ground near. A fowl and pig are killed and the blood sprinkled about the hut. All the roads to the house are shut up for three days; no work of any kind is carried on. They visit no one, no one visits them. Each man gives his share of rice and things to the *antu*.

The *Pansa Antu* is a sudden unaccountable illness from having seen a demon.

A Dyak never admits he is well, nor can you say so to him. So anything eaten is never praised. If a man is convalescent, you must not say, when before him, that he is improving, or looks well, whatever you may say to others upon the subject. It will make him feel uncomfortable and dread a relapse.

Some *manangs* are provided with a magic stone into which they look to see what is ailing a man, and prescribe for him accordingly. Every genuine *manang* is provided with a bag of charms called *lupong*, to him a collection of inestimable value; being a present to him from the spirit world, it is irreplaceable if lost or stolen. In reality its contents are a mass of rubbish, curious sticks and stones, abnormal developments of cane and root, tusks and teeth and excrescences of horn, with here and there a herb or two, such as turmeric, ginger, &c. *Pengoruh rumwah* are the bundle of charms handed from father to son and hung on the head of the post (see "Habitations"). Among Gari's (a *manang*) collection I observed a smooth venetian red pebble and a so-called cock's egg, and he mentioned as stolen a yellow stone bead and a gold button. The charms are used in a variety of ways, sometimes the body is rubbed with them, sometimes they are dipped in water, and the water thus enchanted is drunk, and sometimes a bit is given to the patient to wear about his person as a talisman to ward off some particular danger.

When a *manang* is in attendance upon a sick person, visitors are not received.[1] The room he occupies is tabued, and, if circumstances require it, so is everything that belongs to him: his farm, his fruit-trees, and his garden. The language used by the *manangs* in their incantations is unintelligible even to the Dyaks themselves, and is described by the uninitiated as *bungai jaker, i.e., manang* gibberish. Some profess to understand what is said, but if they really do so it is because they have taken the pains to learn it with the view, no doubt, of performing cures on their own account later on. It may be simply some archaic form of the ordinary spoken language interspersed with cabalistic formulæ, spells and charms for different purposes. *Timong*, the monotonous chant of the *manangs*, is a mixture of prayer and invocation, cursing and imprecation; like the other

[1] This appears to be a contradiction to the statement on page 116.

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it is not modern, and is largely mixed with archaic forms and disused words; sense gives way to the exigencies of rhyme with jingling-like endings, and it has a refrain.

The *manang bali* is a most extraordinary character, and one difficult to describe: he is a male in female costume, which he will tell you he has adopted in obedience to a supernatural command, conveyed three separate times in dreams. Had he disregarded the summons he would have paid for it with his life. Before he can be permitted to assume female attire his organ of penetration (*membrum virile*) is disabled. He will then prepare a feast and invite the people. He will give them *tuak* to drink, and he will sacrifice a pig or two to avert evil consequences to the tribe by reason of the outrage upon nature. Should he fail to do all this every subsequent calamity, failure of crops and such like, would be imputed to his conduct and he would be heavily fined. Thenceforth he is treated in every respect like a woman and occupies himself with feminine pursuits. His chief aim in life is to copy female manners and habits so accurately as to be undistinguishable from other women, and the more nearly he succeeds in this the more highly he is thought of, and if he can induce any foolish young fellow to visit him at night and sleep with him his joy is extreme; he sends him away at daybreak with a handsome present and then, openly before the women, boasts of his conquest, as he is pleased to call it. As his services are in great request and he is well paid for his trouble, he soon grows rich, and when he is able to afford it he takes to himself a husband in order to render his assumed character more complete. But as long as he is poor he cannot even dream of marriage, as nothing but the prospect of inheriting his wealth would ever induce a man to become his husband, and thus incur the ridicule of the whole tribe. The position as husband is by no means an enviable one; the wife proves a very jealous one, and punishes every little infidelity with a fine. The women view him, the husband, with open contempt and the men with secret dislike. His only pleasure must be in seeing his *quasi* wife accumulate wealth and wishing her a speedy demise, so that he may inherit the property.

He (the *manang bali*), on the other hand, the more nearly to resemble a woman, lays himself out to entice some young fool to sleep with him, and he takes good care that his husband finds it out. The husband makes quite a fuss about it, and pays the young fellow's fine with pleasure. As episodes of this kind tend to show how successfully he has imitated the character of a woman he is highly gratified, and rises, accordingly, in the estimation of a tribe as a perfect specimen.

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It is difficult to say at what age precisely a person may become a *manang bali*. One thing, however, is certain, he is not brought up to it as a profession, but becomes one from pure choice or by sudden inclination at a mature age. He is usually childless, but it sometimes happens that he has children, in which case he is obliged to give them their portions and to start afresh unencumbered in his new career, so that when he marries, if he be so minded, he can adopt the children of other people, which he frequently, nay, invariably, does, unless it so happen that his husband is a widower with a family of his own, in which case that family now becomes his.

The *manang bali* is always a person of great consequence, and manages, not unfrequently, to become the chief of the village. He derives his popularity not merely from the variety and diversity of his cures, but also largely from his character as a peacemaker, in which he excels. All little differences are brought to him and he invariably manages to satisfy both parties, and to restore good feeling. Then again his wealth is often at the service of his followers, and if they are in difficulty or distress he is ever ready to help. The *manang bali* as an institution is confined, to the best of my knowledge, to the remote tribes of the Sea Dyaks: the Ulu-Ais, Kañaus, Tutong, Ngkaris and Lamanaks. It is not unknown to the Undups, Balaus, Sibuyaus and Saribas, but is not in vogue among them, owing perhaps to their vicinity to the Malays, who invariably ridicule the practice, and endeavour to throw it into disrepute.

2. *Burials.*

The Sea Dyaks dispose of their dead by burial. A person having died, the *manang* or medicine man who was in attendance during the sickness is charged also with the superintendence of the interment, for which he is paid an extra fee. All the able-bodied men in the village turn out to assist the bereaved family, as it is expedient, where possible, to bury the same day. As soon as a coffin is got ready by their united effort the body is laid in it, dressed in its finest apparel, and shrouded from head to foot in a winding sheet of new cloth. With it are placed, for use in the next world, various articles of clothing, personal ornaments, weapons of warfare and instruments of music, according to its sex and natural proclivities. Some of these things belong to it, others are given to it by friends and relatives as tokens of affectionate regard. The women are not permitted to accompany the coffin to the grave, so they raise a dismal wail as it is being carried by the men to the river-bank, to be conveyed from thence by water to the burial ground of the

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tribe. The women renew the wailing as the funeral procession sweeps past the village, and only discontinue it when the boats are out of sight. The *pendam*, as the burial ground is called, is never far away from the village, and is always, when practicable, on the side of a hill rising abruptly from the river, and is covered with immense trees, which throw a sombre shadow across the water. The Dyaks regard it with a superstitious terror as the abode of spirits, and never visit it except to deposit their dead, and when obliged to do this they never stay longer than they can possibly help, but hurry away as soon as their business is dispatched, for fear of meeting with ghosts. The consequence is that the place is uncared for; the graves, being shallow and ill-secured, are rummaged by forest animals, and bones and skulls strew the ground. The graves are rarely more than three feet deep, if so much; they use no hoe or spade to turn up the soil with, but cut at it with their choppers, and throw up the mould with their hands. They dare not get into the grave to make it deeper, but they kneel to it, and lie on the brink, and dig into it as far as their arms will reach, and no farther. This they do from a superstitious belief that any person stepping into an open grave will die a violent death. But before they can commence to excavate at all, a fowl must be killed and its blood sprinkled on the ground as well as smeared on the feet of the corpse to propitiate *Pulang Gana*, whose domain they are invading. If they omitted to do this, they would incur his serious displeasure, and would die next. When the pit they dig is large enough and deep enough the coffin is lowered into it, and the mould replaced. The grave is then fenced round, food and drink are placed in the enclosure, and at either end of it something is put indicative of the sex and favourite occupation of the deceased. If the grave be that of a warrior it is roofed and curtained and decorated with streamers, his weapons and his war-gear (such as are not buried with him) are hung about, and the ground around is palisaded and spiked. If that of a hunter his blow-pipe and quiver will serve to distinguish it, together with some trophies of the chase—stags, antlers, or boars' tusks. The graves of women are indicated by some article of feminine occupation or feminine attire, spindles, or petticoats, or waist-rings, or water-gourds. The graves of rich persons of either sex are distinguished by jars and gongs, secured in their places by stakes driven through them.

Any person whom it is intended especially to honour is not buried underground, but his coffin is placed in a miniature house built for him on piles some eight or ten feet high, with a railing round it. Wise men and women are treated in this fashion, that is to say, such wise persons as are reputed to be

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766 more cunning than their fellows by reason of their superior knowledge of the stars, the Pleiades in particular, by which they regulate the season for rice-cultivation. After the burial
765 the men return straight to the village and an *ulit* commences, which ends with the feast called *gawai antu*, held, when required, as early as possible after the interment. Should, however, a human head have been obtained in the interval and paraded in the village, the restrictions are partially removed and ornaments are permitted to be worn. The *ulit* is confined to the immediate relatives of the deceased, and does not concern the community at large. During its celebration music is tabued, and so is uproarious mirth; ornaments and gay clothing are laid aside, and deep mourning assumed. The dead man's groves and water-courses are tabued to furnish fruit and fish for the feast to his memory to be held after the harvest.

When a death occurs the entire village abstains from outdoor labour, and remains at home for seven days in the case of a male, for three days in that of a female, and for one in that of an infant. During the mourning none of them sleep in their rooms, but in the open verandah; I believe this is to allow the spirit to have free access into the room. The immediate relatives of the deceased are confined to their own apartments for three days, on the first of which they have to wail for the dead, and on the second and third of which hired wailers, at a plate a head, perform this office for them. Betel and rice are denied them, and the wailing is repeated at certain intervals until the *gawai antu*. If the deceased be a married man the widow may not leave her room for seven days; so everything she requires is brought to her; she wails for her dead husband
[587 morning and evening; she may not marry again until after the
684] *gawai antu*; if she do she is fined for adultery and desertion just as if her husband were alive; she is considered by custom as still belonging to him until freed from him by the performance of the last rites of the *gawai antu*; and every infidelity on her part, if discovered, is visited by the relatives with a pecuniary penalty; and they are not slow to resent anything in her conduct which can be construed into a slur upon his memory (see p. 132).

There appears to be some sort of tabu in connection with mourning, thus:—The camphor tree abounds in the forest of Balui Pé, but the Lepu Anans and others may not touch it for a couple of years, out of reverence for the memory of Ana Lian Avit, the powerful Kiñah chief, who died a few months ago. Similarly Dian's name may not be uttered in Long Sbatu, a Kiñah village, it having been the name borne by a former chief here.

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The bodies of the Dians and Batas, who formerly ruled in Baloi, rest in chambers of iron-wood. The *salong*, as it is called, is a Kyan institution, and foreign to the River Rejang. The *klirieng*, on the other hand, is indigenous. The former is a miniature house of iron-wood, built upon piles of the same material, with a single chamber large enough to contain the coffins of the chief, his brothers and sisters, his family and their families. The *klirieng* is either a single or double pillar, carved from top to bottom with niches up its side for the bodies of slaves and followers, and hollow at the top to receive the jar which contains the bones of the chief for whom it is raised. The pillar is covered with a heavy stone slab. One of the best *salongs* is built upon nine huge posts, three deep; the six side posts are 23 feet above ground, the two end posts which support the roof-tree 26 feet. The floor of the chamber is 18 feet above the ground, and the chamber itself is 13 × 12 feet. This *salong* differs from other *salongs* in having, besides, a centre post of 7 feet girth rising above the floor but not reaching up to the roof; it is, in fact, a *klirieng* within a *salong*, being hollow towards the top, but with the aperture on one side. I shifted the yellow curtain which hung over it, and saw the jar, a valuable one; between it and the walling were the personal effects and funeral gifts—mats, baskets and weapons. The pillar outside was furnished with handles, upon which hung boys' nose flutes and lutes. There were four coffins in the chamber, and the *débris* of others littered the floor. There were paddles and shields up against the walling. The roof is formed of *bilian* planks, and cannot be prised open. It is 27 feet long at its greatest length. The chamber is provided with a door at one end, and is fastened from the inside. Faces of hideous demons are carved upon the posts, with cups for eyes. On the ridge of the roof is an enormous wooden dragon, and the rafters (five on each side) all end in a carved monster called *Aso*, defying description. The bodies of slaves and faithful followers were placed upon scaffolds under the floor and between the posts side by side with the war boat of the chief. In front of the mausoleum is a pointed stake, 16 feet above ground, upon which human heads were stuck and prisoners impaled. Another *salong* is not so well preserved, but is larger and more massive. The chamber is 14 × 13 feet, the posts are 12 in number, three deep, but four in a row. The eight outside posts are 22 feet above the ground, and the two end ones 26 feet; the centre ones do not pierce the floor. It was formerly the practice to drive the principal post into the earth through the body of a living captive or slave, a custom still in force in some parts. A Kajaman double *klirieng*, the best in all Baloi, has the

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Punan OC10
Bahau OC5

I 766

following dimensions: the pillars are carved from top to bottom and capped with a ponderous stone slab; they are both of the same height and stand 32 feet above the ground. The girth of one is 11 feet 7½ inches, that of the other 6 feet 11½ inches.

B 764

At a Kyan grave at the foot of a tree I saw the body, according to custom, exposed on a raised platform; the skull had dropped on the ground, the bones were on the scaffolding, and the personal effects hung around.

P 764

On the Rejang River I met a funeral procession of a Punan on the water. The boats, three in number, carrying their precious burden, the bones of the Punan in a jar, were lashed together; the company was composed of a dozen women and some eighteen men, and the centre boat carried in her bows a tree, the branches of which flare with streamers, red and yellow, black and white. The jar was deposited in the hollow at the top of the pillar, and the trophy of flags was planted on a mound by the waterside, a few hundred yards away.

B 764

A Skapan coffin I once saw was canoe-shaped, carved and painted; the bottom was filled with ashes upon which the body was laid with the hair hanging out over the side for the mother to look at, and the lid sealed down with pitch to keep in the smell. The coffin was set in one corner of the room, and over it hung the belongings of the dead person. It was kept for a year or more and then carried out into the open air, when the lid was prised open and the bones collected for burial in a jar.

The bodies of those who die from an outpour of blood and of women in child-birth, are not allowed to remain in the house, but are taken away at once and buried in the earth without ceremony and without a coffin. The bones of such are not collected.

In Kajaman territory some coffins were slung upon a tree, the leaves of which had been plucked and replaced by strips of coloured cloth, which gave it a festive appearance. The coffin is always treated in this manner after the bones have been removed. It is perched upon a branch and either falls to pieces in the process of time or is carried away by the first big fresh. At a Kajaman's death the body (that of a man) lay in state inside a mosquito curtain on a raised daïs in the verandah. The curtain was flung open for all to see. The dead man was propped up so as to assume the position of a person sitting up in bed; his legs were stretched straight before him, and his chin was held up by a cloth band; his coffin lay outside ready to receive him; his weapons and other gear hung round the curtain. His wife sat by his side fanning his face and sobbing the while.

The Kiñahs use neither the *klirieng* nor the *salong*, but a

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Bahau OC5

B
764

mortuary edifice of their own. The coffin with the body in it is placed on a hard wood platform elevated upon two iron-wood pillars, and is covered with a semi-cylinder of the same material. Underneath the floor the boy's (Awen's son) things are hanging together with other things put there by his friends for his use in the world of spirits—war costumes, every-day clothing, weapons, a hurricane lamp, and a bottle of kerosine. To this day, the corpse of a certain *Gasieng Gaharn* Kiñah chief has never been buried, but is preserved in a little house built near the village, where it is continually fed, according to custom. So great is the regard for him that his people cannot bring themselves to leave it entirely, but whenever they remove to other farm lands, it is removed along with them.

3. *Festivals.*

I
769

The *Gawai Antu*, or feast to the dead of the Sea Dyaks, to which allusion has already been made, is held if required once a year, but never before the harvest. Every person in the village in whose family a death has occurred within the past year makes what is called by the Samarahan a *gong kup*, and by the Ulities a *lumbong*, that is to say, a basket of wicker-work shaped so as to resemble a shield, or a helmet, or a sieve, or something or other indicative of the sex and favourite occupation of the individual for whom it is intended. The basket is filled with cakes and bananas, and hard boiled eggs, and hung up outside the door. The day following it is taken away by the men and left on the grave as a farewell offering. The women collect together in groups whenever a death has occurred for which they are in mourning, and then they feast at the expense of the heir to the property. A portion of each viand and comestible is set apart for the spirits. A fowl is then caught and waved over each in token of amity, after which each bites a bit of iron and drinks a cup of *tuak*. The rings of blackened cane worn round the waist in mourning are now severed and replaced by coloured ones, which are supplied to each from a heap in the centre together with a *bidang*, or short petticoat, of a kind used out of mourning. The fowl is then killed and the feet smeared with the blood, and the *ulit* is at an end. The same ceremony is performed later in the day by the men, who discard their ribbons of beaten bark, and receive in exchange cloth of foreign manufacture. As their cups are replenished as soon as empty, more liquor is apt to be consumed than is positively good for them, and uproarious merriment soon sets in. Just as wailing was the order of the day, so music and dancing prevail throughout the evening.

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Bahasa OC5

527 There is a Kiñah festival called *Bunut*, which seems to be in honour of the fertility of their women and their soil. The families who have given birth to children since the date of the last festival, empty each a basketful of toys and eatables on the floor for the boys and girls to scramble for. After this the wise [787 women of the tribe squat in a circle round a gong full of water 825] with four water-beetles (called *ivak* by the Kyans and *rung kup* by the Dyaks) swimming about in it. They draw auguries from their evolutions in the water, and implore their god *Laké Ivong* to come up their way, up the Baloi river and the Bulan river, and bring with them the soul of the paddy seed into the country of *Laké Uan*. Cane juice is then poured into the water, and the mixture drunk up by the women; the beetles are taken to the river side, and dropped into the current to be carried away 527 towards *Laké Ivong*. This ceremony is followed by a downright indecent rough and tumble, in which all join, men and women, 786 boys and girls. They pelt one another with soft rice boiled in soot, fling one another on the ground, rub one another all over with slush until their bodies are caked with the filth. A naked man with an idiotic simper on his face wanders in and out among the crowd of revellers, and the women are made to touch his organ as he passes in and out among them. This is presumably in honour of his manhood and power, and may be simply a survival of primitive worship. The grossest licence is permitted during the quarter of an hour this orgie prevails. The verandah, which has now begun to smell like a pig-stye, is deluged with water, and one or two women slide about the slippery floor with hand-nets, and make believe to scoop up the slush for fear the rice they have wasted may never return to them again.

527 The Kyan harvest festival is called *Dangé*, and at its conclusion the village is tabued for a period of ten days. A pig [782 is sacrificed according to custom, and its flesh exposed on a bamboo altar in the open air as an offering to the Great Spirit. The wise folk of the village dance a measure round it, and wind up by chasing each other round it with naked weapons; a slave woman, with a basket of food on her back, beating a gong the while. A trophy is fitted up in the verandah of the house composed of rice cooked in various ways, all manner of fruits from their gardens, every-day clothing, holiday costumes and war gear, all of which things it is the business of the mystery-man to forward to the Great Spirit as a thank-offering from the people with prayers for more of the same sort, their wants being abundance of produce, plenty of wearing apparel, the animals of the chase, and the heads of their enemies. At the village of *Balo Lahé* I met the widow

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At the village of Balo kahé I met the widow
of the powerful Kyan chief Oyang Hang, who was subdued by Rajah Brooke in 1863. Music and dancing went on in the evening, and was the best of the kind I have seen anywhere. The women spared no pains to please us; they turned out in troops to dance before us, and the old lady was unapproachable, her performance being inimitable. There were single dances, double dances, and company dances. Some were graceful, others were grotesque. There was the dance of the blind man feeding his pigs, which convulsed us with laughter; a deer dance, and the dance of the fishes blocking up the river, in which the feet of the performers went pit-a-pat, pit-a-pat, and the arms were swung backwards and forwards in quick time, the ends of the column changing places as the company faced about. This was followed by a ludicrous dance called the dance of the Punan women, caricaturing their untidy costume and awkward deportment. Then there was the dance of the young warrior making love to another man's wife; the performers were both women, she sat with her back to him making a cigarette; every time he danced up to her to take it out of her mouth, she shook him off, but as he danced away from her, she threw him a glance over her shoulder which encouraged him to advance again. Then there were war dances, the men in full costume, with the step and music peculiar to each tribe.

B 527 535 522 B [185]

4. *Womenfolk.*

I 562

As we shall see further on, the Sea Dyak women have no reason to murmur at their condition. Their wants are few and easily satisfied. They are eminently stay-at-home people, and rarely visit, being fond of home and of domestic life. They have perhaps rather more than a fair share of labour, but this is always the case where the men spend so much time on the war path, and as the women keep the men up to the mark in this respect, they are scarcely to be pitied if extra work fall to their lot.

They are earlier risers than the men, and retire to bed earlier. They rise in fact with the earliest peep of dawn to light the fires and open the windows. They then bathe in the river, scrubbing themselves with rough pebbles and cleansing the pores of the skin with the powder of the *langir* fruit, which lathers well and effectually removes all impurities. They do not clean the teeth, but they rub the gums with the fingers and rinse the mouth and throat. The children are washed at the same time. The men do not bathe early in the morning on account of the chill, but always do so when perspiring from exertion, as while walking, &c., and dry themselves for a

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few minutes in the sun before putting on their *chawats* (loin-cloths).

Their next duty is to prepare the morning meal. They eat with the men or not as they please, but they generally prefer to feed with the children after the men have finished. When breakfast is all over they clean up the crockery and brush the floor. The pigs and poultry are fed with the refuse, as are also the dogs.

They are now ready to accompany the men to the farm, or if not required they pursue their own occupations, which are various and manifold. As it is necessary to provide vegetables for the next meal, they visit their gardens for this purpose and bring home with them whatever they may be able to find in them, viz.:—cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, capsicums, &c. Tapioca leaves, cucumber leaves, and sweet-potato leaves are used by them as much as anything else, and they are fond of them when boiled in water.

Sometimes they go out fishing with scoop nets when they have the time to spare, or are desirous of a change of diet. It is the business of the men to provide pork, venison, and fresh fish, but the preserving is done by the women, who smoke or pickle according to fancy. There is never a want of firewood in a Dyak house; one of the first duties of a husband is to provide this, or he gets into bad odour with his wife or mother-in-law. The wood is smoked until every particle of moisture is evaporated out, and it becomes quite brittle and hard. If the women go out in the forenoon upon expeditions of the above kind, they have to be back again by the middle of the day to cook the mid-day meal. If they are busy on the farm, and mean to make a day of it with the family, they take what rice they require with them early in the morning and cook it on the spot to avoid the journey to and fro.

At two o'clock in the afternoon they pound a measure of paddy with heavy wooden pestles to free it from the husk; each woman is provided with a wooden mortar which is placed either in the *tempuan* or thoroughfare, or inside the *bilich* or room, and two women pound away at each. At 4 p.m. they bathe, and at 5 p.m. they are busy cooking for the third and last meal of the day. After the things are cleared away they hang up the mosquito curtains, and put the children to bed, while they sit up for an hour or two to converse with the men, and retire to rest when tired.

In addition to the above routine of daily labour, they have a variety of things to do, and are never idle. They have to fetch drinking water and to nurse the babies, and when they are tired of carrying them about in their arms, they strap them on to their back with a cloth.

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to their back with a cloth. It is also their duty to put the paddy out to dry on the *tanju* (open air platform) and to watch it from the *ruai* (covered verandah) to keep the fowls away from it. They have besides to prepare the cotton, and to spin the yarn, to prepare the dyes, and to weave clothing for themselves and their families. After the harvest, they brew the toddy, which is preserved in jars and produced upon special occasions as a great treat. So that altogether they have generally as much work as they can well get through.

They are fond of their children, and the children are fond of them. Indeed, the latter are quite spoilt, and the more mischievous a boy is the prouder they are of him, and prognosticate great things from him when he gets older. They clothe their children earlier than the Malays do, disliking to see them run about naked. They rarely if ever punish them when naughty, so that they grow up wayward and self-willed, and though they are extremely fond of their parents they do pretty much as they please, and not as they are told. As they grow older, however, they do as they are required, not caring to displease their relations.

The young women receive their male visitors at night; they sleep apart from their parents, sometimes in the same room, but more often in the loft. The young men are not invited to sleep with them unless they are old friends, but they may sit with them and chat, and if they get to be fond of each other after a short acquaintance, and wish to make a match of it, they are united in marriage if the parents on either side have no objections to offer. It is in fact the only way open to the man and woman to become acquainted with each other, as privacy during the day time is out of the question in a Dyak village.

When a girl is visited for the first time by a stranger, he is rarely received, but if he comes several nights running, she then believes him to be in earnest, especially if he declares he means no harm, but is in search of a wife. She will then sit up with him, and after chewing *sirih* and betel nut, they discourse, often through the medium of a jew's harp, one handing it to the other, asking questions and returning answers, and conversing upon all manner of topics until the day begins to break, and it is time for him to grope his way back. If he continues to pay her attention after this, she may even invite him to lie down and sleep beside her, but her complaisance ends at this point. If he dare to take a liberty with her person, she is sure to cry out, her relatives are at hand to maul him, naked weapons would be thrown at him unless he make good his escape, and even if he do this they can bring him to book the

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584 next day. If a woman orders a man to be off he must do as he is required. If he continue to stay when requested to retire, she gets out of bed and blows up the fire which is smouldering on the hearth, for all this goes on in a room where the parents are sleeping, and often also married brothers and sisters; but no one interferes. He is now sure to go, as he would not care to be seen. If a girl cares for a man she will let him know, if not, no amount of money can win her.

836 Of course immorality does ensue from this practice, but when it does occur it forms the exception and not the rule, and I believe you would not find in England a morality half as good amongst an equal number of persons. The custom does away, however, with much of the organised immorality of more civilized communities, and helps a man to a wife, and a woman to a husband, by affording them an opportunity of becoming acquainted with one another.

836 Even when a woman has so far forgotten herself as to submit
564 to the desire of a man, it is as often as not simply to see whether their union would be fruitful, and if this prove to be the case, the man is bound in honour and by promise to make her his wife.

834 The women are so keenly sensitive to disgrace, that they
[152] will not part with their virtue for fear of the consequences.
762 They prefer death to a life of shame, and many girls have
684 committed suicide rather than face the displeasure of their parents and the jibes of their sex. If the man be false to his
582 word, and the woman commits suicide, he is held responsible for the value of her life, and is very heavily fined. It is unusual, however, for the men to prove false to their vows. It is absolutely necessary for them to marry as early in life as possible, and if a suitable woman is already found, and her fertility ascertained beyond a doubt, there is no inducement to hang back. The young men as a rule marry at 18, and settle down, and the girls at 16.

584 Presents given to a girl during courtship can never be
[431] recovered whatever the event.

Match-making parents sometimes invite a likely young lad of their acquaintance to *ngaiap* (as it is called) their daughter while both are yet young; they do all they can to render his visits agreeable to him in the hope that he may learn to get fond of the girl and take her to wife when they are both old enough to think of such matters. When the young man has made sure of his bride, he asks the important question of the
585 parents. Should they be willing the day is fixed, and all in the house are invited to eat *pudang sirih*. Should the young man live in another house the women in the house dress themselves

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in their best to go and fetch the bride. Then comes the tug of war; shall they run the gauntlet of all the young men and boys of the house, who are waiting with sooted hands to begrime their faces and bodies? They generally show fight, although they come away like niggers, for the boys are full of mischief. 585

When a young woman is in love with a man who is not acceptable to her parents, there is an old custom called *nunghup bui*, which permits him to carry her off to his own village. She will meet him by arrangement at the water-side, and step into his boat with a paddle in her hand, and both will pull away as fast as they can. If pursued he will stop every now and then to deposit some article of value on the bank, such as a gun, a jar, or a *tavor* for the acceptance of her family, and when he has exhausted his resources he will leave his own sword. When the pursuers observe this they will cease to follow, knowing he is cleared out. As soon as he reaches his own village he tidies up the house and spreads the mats, and when his pursuers arrive he gives them food to eat and toddy to drink, and sends them home satisfied. In the meanwhile he is left in possession of his wife. 583

When laughing and joking with the girls, it is no offence to catch them round the waist and squeeze their breasts, but it is out of the question to act in this manner with a married woman; anyone venturing to squeeze the latter even in ignorance of her condition renders himself liable to a fine of from five to eight *mungkuls*, and if anyone venture to disturb her in her curtains with ever so innocent an intention he subjects himself to a penalty. 832 684

The women, as a rule, are faithful to their husbands, and adultery is uncommon when we consider the density of the population. If a woman commit adultery with a husband his wife may fine that woman whoever she may be, or if she prefer it she may waylay her on the ground and thrash her; but if she does this she must forego one-half the fine she would otherwise be entitled to demand. If her husband deserts her she may fine him or require him to provide for her children. If he forsake her in order to marry some other person, she has a right to fine her rival in his affection for enticing him away from her. If either wish to separate from the other and there is no issue to the marriage, nothing is simpler; it is merely necessary to allege a bad dream or adverse omen, and both are free to marry again; but if the dream or omen be a reality, and the pair are not desirous of parting company, they can avert any evil consequences from neglecting to do so by sacrificing a pig. 837 684 586 787

Young couples often part in anger for a few weeks or a few months, as the case may be, and come together again when the 593 586

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593 storm has blown over. People are often married twice or three
586 times before they find their partner for life. As the women do a fair share of work they are entitled to receive upon divorce one-half of the property acquired during coverture by their joint labour. ' Divorce is the reverse of common after a child has been born, but frequent enough before the event. The women fully understand the value of a husband and are careful to keep him in good humour, especially when there are extra mouths to feed. No divorce is absolute until the property has been divided and a ring given by the man to the woman as a token of her freedom to marry elsewhere.

595 Polyandry is unknown; clear cases of bigamy are of rare occurrence and not tolerated. No Dyak can have more than one wife at a time.

587 When a wife loses her husband by death she cannot marry
765 again (except by a special payment) until she has performed the last rites required by custom at the *Gawai Antu* (spirit feast).
684 If she do she is fined by the relatives of the deceased, for this is a slight upon his memory. The amount of fine is just the same as if he were still alive and she had abandoned him for another; and her new husband is fined at the same time for seduction. The fact is, a widow is regarded as belonging to her deceased husband until she is formally freed from him by the feast of the *Sungkup*. She is obliged to lead a virtuous life as long as she is in mourning or abide the consequences, which are severe in their nature, and involve her lover as well as herself (see p. 122).

762 Suicide is of frequent occurrence among the females, but is rarely resorted to by the males. The women, as we have said before, are so keenly sensitive of disgrace that many prefer, if anything untoward happen, to perish by their own act. They cannot bear to be found fault with by those whom they love, and if reproached by their parents or their husbands in at all [278] bitter terms for any irregularity in their conduct, they take poison; but the doses do not always prove fatal, and if a [757] powerful emetic is administered in time death does not ensue. Fowl's dung is forced into their mouth to produce nausea, and the body is immersed in water. There is a hill in Sabaian [775] (the next world), says tradition, covered with *tuba*, and suicides there enjoy undisturbed repose beneath the shade of the poisonous shrub. Despairing lovers, whose union upon earth was forbidden by harsh and unfeeling parents, are here reunited. Women have also been known within recent times to commit suicide to avoid the shame and disgrace of being sold into slavery.

Infanticide is occasionally practised to destroy the offspring

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Infanticide is occasionally practiced to destroy the offspring
of shame. Also if a mother died in child-birth it was the 847
former practice to strap the living babe to its dead mother and 766
bury them both together. "Why should it live?" say they, 597
"It has been the death of its mother, and now she is gone who
is to suckle it?" It is now the custom to give it away to
anyone who can be found to adopt it. If there be no one to
take care of it, it is allowed to perish from want of nourishment.

The Sea Dyaks are very particular as to their prohibited 582
degrees of marriage, and are opposed in principle to the inter-
marriage of relatives. This is one reason for the fertility of
their women as compared with other tribes who are fast
vanishing around them. As with us, a man may not marry his
mother,

Nor his step-mother,
Nor his mother-in-law,
Nor his daughter,
Nor his step-daughter,
Nor his daughter-in-law,
Nor his adopted daughter,
Nor his sister,
Nor his step-sister,
Nor his half-sister,
Nor his wife's sister,
Nor his aunt,
Nor his step-mother,
Nor his father's sister,
Nor his mother's sister.

He may not marry his first cousin, except he perform a 582
special act called *bergaput*, to avert evil consequences to the 588
land. The couple adjourn to the water-side and fill a small 783
earthenware jar with their personal ornaments; this they sink
in the river, or instead of a jar they may fling a *duku* (chopper)
and a plate into the river. A pig is then sacrificed on the bank
and its carcase, drained of its blood, is flung in after the jar.
The pair are then pushed into the water by their friends and
ordered to bathe together. A joint of bamboo is then filled
with pig's blood, and they have to perambulate the country,
scattering it upon the ground and in the villages round about.
They are then free to marry (see p. 114).

The women suffer very little at their confinement, and 842
seldom remain quiet beyond a few days. They are very 846
anxious for children, and if there is a preference it is decidedly
for males, though females are treated quite as well. During 843
pregnancy and until delivery the husband is prohibited from
doing a great many things; he may not work with any edged

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843 tool except it be absolutely unavoidable; he may not tie things together with canes, nor kill certain animals, nor fire guns, nor do anything, in fact, of a violent character; all such things being supposed to exercise a malign influence on the formation and development of the *fœtus*.

852 A few months after the birth of a child a feast is given in honour of the event, and another after the harvest, to launch it on the world. During the feast the *manang* waves the odoriferous areca blossom over the babe and moves about the village chanting. The feast lasts a day and a night.

591 It is usual for the husband to reside with the father-in-law until he has a family of his own and is prepared to set up a house for himself. If his wife is the only daughter and he is permitted to take her away to his own home, her parents have a right to demand of him a *taju* or *brian* (*barian*) to replace her loss of service; but if she has a sister or sister-in-law to attend to her parents, no such demand can be made, and she is at liberty to follow her husband if she be so disposed.

583 591 611 Self interest governs the father in connection with his daughter's marriage. He makes certain requisitions as the price of his consent. He would stipulate that his daughter should continue to live with him or near him so that her children should belong to him as head of the family group. In this case not only would the children form part of the family to which the mother belonged, but the husband himself would become united to it, and would be required to labour for the [586] benefit of his father-in-law. It frequently happens that when a husband refuses to live with his wife's family she will leave him and go back to her relatives.

606 It is customary to treat a father-in-law with even greater deference than one's own father. The son-in-law will never venture to utter his name or to contradict him when speaking. He may not lie on the same mat with him, or eat off the same plate, or drink out of the same cup, or walk in front of him.

[N.B.—*Further papers will follow.*]

Discussion.

1114 Dr. Tylor said that when the rough notes of descriptive anthropology, which Mr. Brooke Low did not live to complete, were placed in his hands by his father, Sir Hugh Low, their fragmentary and half-obliterated state seemed hopeless. But on examination it was evident that material of so much value must, if possible, be saved, and at his request Mr. Ling Roth had undertaken to bring the papers into shape, and deserved the thanks of the Institute for

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the skill and patience with which he was accomplishing the task without substantial alteration, and generally without changing the writer's words. The present paper, the first instalment of the whole, shows Mr. Low's skill both as an anthropologist and as a philologist, whose linguistic studies in the Dyak region, which from his official position in Sarawak he knew intimately, add largely to our knowledge of a group of languages as yet but scantily known. Among the topics to which Dr. Tylor wished to call special attention, are the remarks on the relation of dreams to the idea of soul or spirit, a fundamental doctrine of the animistic scheme of religion. No illustration could be stronger than that of the Dyak, who, having dreamt that he fell into the water, attributes this to his shadow-soul having really fallen into the water, and proceeds, by the aid of the spirit-doctor, to recover it, and get it restored to him. In the description of omens, the animistic reason for animals giving intelligence by omens is supplied where it is mentioned that such spirits of birds are considered to be really transmigrated ancestors come to warn the Dyaks of danger. This throws an important light on what we call ill-omened birds and other creatures, who from this point of view are not vexations, but come as friends to save their friends from harm. It appears that the Dyaks share with the Kafirs of South Africa the delusion that the lengths of shadows vary, portending good or ill. Among other doctrines familiar to students of the lower culture, here well illustrated, may be observed the tabu, here known as mali (given by St. John in the form *pamali*); the totem-animal, whose flesh may not be eaten; the tree-spirit, consenting or objecting to its tree being felled; the accounting for bad weather by the anger of the spirits at marriage-customs having been violated, &c. Care must, however, be taken not to overlook the effects of foreign civilized influence on the ideas of these rude people. The mystic number seven, as in the doctrine of the seven spirits, must be due to Hindu or Moslem influence; as also the worship of the deity called here the Great Spirit, whose name, probably showing in which of these two cultured religions he originated, will, no doubt, be specified in papers to come later on before the Institute.

Dr. CODRINGTON said that very much of what had been read, especially in the first part, corresponded closely with what had been observed in Melanesia. Without referring to general resemblance or identity, three words had struck him as remarkable: 1. *Antu*, no doubt the Polynesian *atua*, a spiritual being or demon; 2. *Manang*, probably the *mana*, by which all magic and doctoring is worked in Melanesia; 3. *Tapu*. (This last, however, was introduced in the paper, not as a native word, but as generally understood.)

Sir HUGH LOW said:—In reference to the points in this paper in which Dr. Codrington has remarked similarity to the customs of the natives of the Islands of Polynesia, I should like to mention that, although it is now more than forty years since I had the opportunity

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787 of travelling among the Dyaks of Western Borneo, to whom the notes left by my late son refers, I distinctly remember the importance attached to the omens derived from the flight of birds and the position from which the notes of birds and of various insects reached them. The omens also derived from the examination of the viscera of the pigs which are killed for the festivals held on all important occasions are most carefully observed, and no feast which I have attended was commenced until after a fowl had been killed, the blood mingled with rice stained yellow with turmeric, and thrown up towards heaven by the chief, who at the same time offered a prayer, the words of which were not understood by the people.

784 "Taboo" is much practised among the Dyaks. At the time of planting the seed in the padi fields, no stranger may enter there for several days. The public path frequently passes through them, but during the "taboo," or, as the Dyaks call it, "pamali," a detour must be made to avoid the forbidden enclosure. The [209] existence of the pamali is made known to everyone by dried palm leaves or small branches of bamboo or shrubs placed in a conspicuous position at all the entrances of the forbidden farm. The same practice is used when sickness is in the house, and for the preservation of fruit trees and of anything which it is desired should not be interfered with by the general public. If a Dyak is asked to do anything contrary to custom, he invariably answers, it is "pamali." These remarks refer more particularly to the Land [171] Dyaks of Western Borneo, but are, I believe, equally applicable to the Sea Dyaks, to whom my son's notes more particularly refer.

756 The *manang*, or medicine man, is of great influence in every tribe, and amongst the Sea Dyaks they have the curious custom of dressing as women, and in all their actions endeavouring to imitate the manners and customs of the female sex; even to the taking to themselves men who are called and pass among the people as their "husbands." The belief in magic is very pre- 000 valent among all the natives I have observed in Borneo and the Malay Peninsula, and it has even survived the introduction of the religion of Islam. The magic practices derived from the wild Sakie of the Peninsula are held in great esteem among the Malays of Perak, though discountenanced by the Mahommedan priests. Charms similar to those so widely used in Borneo are in use also among the even less cultivated Sakies and Semangs of the Malay States, and consist of the same articles, such as abnormal growths, nodules of plants, stones of unusual appearance, beads, teeth, and other articles. These often form a bundle of two or three pounds' weight, and on occasions of unusual importance, as in exploring an unknown district or ascending a high mountain, are suspended round the neck.

825 The tiger, though not an inhabitant of Borneo, is, as a mythical animal, held in great reverence by all the tribes—the largest cat in the island is that which is, I believe, called "Felix macrocelis," by Dutch authors, but I have heard that a skull of what was

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believed to be a tiger was shown in the village of the Singhie Dyaks in Sarawak, black and decaying from age; but Mr. Everett, who observed it, was not allowed to handle or even approach it very closely, and was consequently unable positively to identify it.

Mr. Coutts Trotter called attention to the wide area on the opposite mainland of Asia, extending up through Siam to Tibet, &c., where we find not only the identical customs first described, but also the same habits of thought and beliefs of which these customs are the outcome; their prevalence in these countries depending, inversely, on the extent to which Buddhism has established itself. This is the official creed everywhere, but in the country districts exists only as a slight veneer, the real popular faith being still that which these customs represent.

Prof. T. Rupert Jones, replying to the President's enquiry as to the geological nature of some of the specimens exhibited, stated that the two so-called "gall-stones" are smooth pebbles of banded lydite (solid siliceous schist); and that the octagonal plate consists of an igneous rock (trap-rock), such as coarse-grained diorite or gabbro, composed of felspar and augite.